594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

● 582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called mar- [584] riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

584 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's father took initiative when son about 10 yrs. old, girl 6; girl's father either paid then or later when marriage consummated. Boy and girl lived with their respective parents until of age to marry, when young man and his father came to girl's house; if she had already been paid for they simply brought acorns, food, baskets, and took her home with them. If no payment had been made, and girl objected to marriage, her opinion might be respected, but if payment made years before her father would tell her, "I got that money for you; now you go!" (MM).

587 583 Man marrying second time did not buy second wife although she belonged to another family than his first wife, or came from another tribe.

● 582 835 Collateral, lineal blood kin could not marry within 2 ascending or descending generations; marriage between parallel, cross cousins and between first generation offspring of such incestuous. Gifford reports "hearsay cases" of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Gifford, 1922, 255); a few such have occurred, but are strongly disapproved of. Of 90 recorded marriages 3 such tabooed unions listed: (1) man married mother's brother's daughter, but this speedily ended in divorce; (2) man (1933) cohabiting with father's sister's daughter's daughter, which caused girl's mother to "cry and cry about this, because she was ashamed" (LT); (3) man (1931-33) cohabiting with mother's sister's daughter's daughter, which was regarded as an open scandal and frequently gossiped about.

Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 835 Children adopted from another tribe could marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'išn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'išn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord
outside house (SM) or [illegible] (FP); LT had lost
cord belonging to [illegible]son, but no mis-
fortune attributed to [illegible]act.

572 Two unrelated boys [illegible] unrelated girls, when
about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship
857 (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls,
bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult
life. Chums used each other's belongings freely,
lived at each other's homes "as much as they
wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood to-
gether; in later life would never assume face-
washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
● [582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not
obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lec-
tured by old man, woman relative at sundown, out-
side house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to
boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP
gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know
what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be
stingy; give visitors food; when they go home
they will say good things about you. Don't talk
about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare
at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't
eat meat or grease when you have your menses;
drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch
your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[836] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if
you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life";
many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys
took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, how-
ever, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in
hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of
FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or
salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6
days; during subsequent periods observed these
taboos for length of period only. If menstruating
woman ate meat, her husband would not see game
(SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick
used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; in-
formants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931
said girl at first menstruation stayed in house,
being put over little hole which had hot rocks
underneath "like the hole a woman used when she
had a baby," but that girl was not covered with
anything; mother or old woman took care of girl.
In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at
childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary
occupations during first period; no pit used.

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tübatulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.
487

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also give indications of groups with whom there has been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).
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648

From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.
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In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).
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Dried meat mentioned most frequently as commodity traded intratribally, in winter especially; in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.
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773

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells, haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.
[825]

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·ngil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hĭštĭh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hĭštĭh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·ngil = 1 cent, hĭštĭh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hĭštĭh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hĭštĭh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hĭštĭh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
765 fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlit was making a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they boiled and fried it. I met wišimlit's youngest son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him before, because after wišimlit's man was killed in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 Pete was about the same age that I was. He
584 saw me over there at the fiesta.
582 "Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."
But my mother didn't want me to go with him; he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta
231 there was a man who used to get eagles from Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the mts. near the man's place for a long time. The man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming he would fly close to him, knock him down with his wings; then he would cut that man's load all to pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man, too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he never came back any more. That old man raised him; anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my
627 father told me about. It happened a long time ago. The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."
Four men went with him, away up on the S side of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad doctor.

159 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we
584 were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete
582 came to our camp and he asked for me again. That time my mother said to him, "You're all right." Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and helping us. His mother, wišimlit, didn't pay anything for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlit paid for her and brought her to yitiyamup to be Steban's wife. Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know anything about it. When he came home there was a wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we
came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yïtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yïtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yïtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yïtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

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man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying. 539X 159 682 648

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out. 539X 159 682 648

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there. 539X 159 833 837 [582]

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying. 539X 159 636 837

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.